

VALENTYN'S ACCOUNT OF MALACCA.

(Resumed from p. 74b of Journal No. 13 of June, 1884.)

Leaving this prince and his new city for a while, let us return to Malakka, where more treachery was being plotted against its great conqueror ALBUQUERQUE.

Râja ISUTINUTIS, wronged by King MAHMUD, had already, before the arrival of ALBUQUERQUE, tried to expel that prince: having made up his mind to obtain possession of the town with the aid of some Javanese and one Pati ⁽¹⁾ from Japâra, he thought it now the right time to renew the attempt, the more so that he knew there were but very few Portuguese troops.

So he sent a letter to the King's son, who had fled to the island of Bintam, (*i.e.*, Bintang, or more correctly Bentan) informing him of his intentions, but his letter was intercepted, and he, a man of eighty years of age, his son PATIAGUS, and his brother-in-law, who tried to enter the fortress, were arrested and decapitated in public, while their houses and property were destroyed and laid waste, and their memory consigned to oblivion. It was to no purpose that his widow offered to pay one hundred thousand ducats if their lives were spared.

Intent then on revenging herself, she promised her daughter in marriage to a Moor called PATICATIR (OSORIUS calls him PASECATIR and MAFFEJUS, QUITIRIUS) who had been appointed head of the Moors by ALBUQUERQUE, on condition that he should avenge the death of her husband, son and brother-in-law, PATICATIR having often previously in vain asked for her hand while ISUTINUTIS was still alive.

(1) "Pâti Ūnus" according to FARIA Y SOUZA, who afterwards became King of Sunda.

The marriage having been concluded quite secretly, the widow engaged 6,000 troops, and with their aid attempted to carry his plots into execution, but ALBUQUERQUE put him to flight on the first engagement, and thus broke up at once all his power and influence.

Having established peace here in 1511, ALBUQUERQUE appointed RODRIGO BRIT PATALYN first Governor of Malakka, and NINACHETU Shahbandar and head of the Moors. SAINALAH DIN, the King of Pasi (Pâsei), who had once before deserted to MAHMUD, was again restored to favour, but notwithstanding went over a second time to the enemies of ALBUQUERQUE.

ALBUQUERQUE then left Malakka in charge of PATALYN with a garrison of 300 Portuguese, sent one of his captains with a squadron of ten sail to the Singapore Straits, and returned with four vessels to Malaar (Malabar?) to keep a watchful eye upon the plots of ABADILCHAIN against Goa.

He, however, not only failed to carry out his expedition, but narrowly escaped with his life, his vessel having struck and sunk in a storm off Pasi on the Island of Sumatra. Though this happened at night, he and his crew were saved; but he lost Nakhoda BEGUA's bracelet with the precious blood-stanching stone. ⁽¹⁾

After suffering many distresses and being almost starved, they arrived safely at Cucheen (Cochin on West Coast of India) in February, 1512.

Meantime the Portuguese (at Malakka) had been again attacked by PATICATIR, but he was so completely defeated by PETREJUS ANDRADO that he did not venture a further attempt. The PATI ONIUS ⁽²⁾ previously mentioned from Japâra, who had eight years before promised his aid to Râja ISUTINUTIS, now at last appeared before Malakka with a fleet of 3,000 ⁽³⁾ sail, having secured at the same time many adherents in the town itself, but he likewise met with total defeat, and barely succeeded

⁽¹⁾ For an account of this wonderful ornament, see pp. 73 and 74 Journal. S.B., R.A.S., No. 13 for June, 1884, and note.

⁽²⁾ Pâti Ünus.

⁽³⁾ FARIA Y SOUZA says ninety sail, which sounds more probable, with 1,200 men (an average of 133 to each vessel) and a good supply of artillery.

in escaping himself in a small craft, the only one left of the whole fleet, after losing more than 8,000 men. ⁽¹⁾ The loss of the Portuguese on the other hand was not more than 20 men killed though they had many wounded in this severe engagement. The Portuguese Governor PATALYN and his Captain ANDRADO were much praised by ALBUQUERQUE for their gallant behaviour.

Once again Malakka ran the risk of being reconquered by the Malay kings. TAEHAR MADJELIS (TUANNO MASELIS according to Portuguese historians) a Moor from Bengal, was the originator of this new plot. Being on good terms with one PETER PERSON, a friend of the Governor, he had arranged with his adherents that he should first kill PERSON, and this was to be the signal for a general massacre. A few days afterwards having been invited to dinner by PERSON, he tried to execute his plot, but instead of killing PERSON, he only wounded him; this of course caused an alarm and frustrated all their plans. ⁽²⁾

(1) FARIA Y SOUZA's account agrees as to the completeness of Pâti Ünus's defeat, but differs in his account of his fleet, concerning which he remarks:—"Several of his ships were equal in size to the largest Portuguese galleons, and the one destined for himself was larger than any ships then built by the Europeans." And, again:—"After a furious battle of some endurance, Ünus fled, and was pursued all the way to Java, where he preserved his own vast vessel as a memorial of his escape, and of the grandeur of his fleet, and not without reason, as a merchant of Malakka engaged to purchase it of PERCY for 10,000 ducats if taken."

(2) FARIA Y SOUZA's account of this affair is as follows:—"King Mahomet had not yet lost all hope of recovering Malakka, to which he now drew near: and having in vain attempted to succeed by force, he had recourse to stratagem. For this purpose he prevailed on a favourite officer named JUAN MAXILIZ to imitate the conduct of ZOPHROS at Babylon. Being accordingly mutilated, JUAN fled with some companions to Malakka, giving out that he had escaped from the tyrannical cruelty of his sovereign. RUY DE BRITO, who then commanded in the citadel of Malakka, credited his story, and reposed so much confidence in his fidelity that he was admitted at all times into the fortress. At length, having appointed a particular day for the

When the King of Djohor found that all his attempts miscarried, he deemed it advisable to conclude a permanent peace with the Portuguese (1514), which was preserved for some years.

The Viceroy ALFONSUS ALBUKIRK sent his cousin GEORGE ALBUKIRK the same year (1514), to Malakka to succeed the valiant RODRIGO PATALYN as second Governor of that place (Malakka).

NINACHETU was dismissed at the same time, and the King of Campar appointed Shahbandar ⁽¹⁾ in his place (no one knew the cause of his dismissal); he was so chagrined at this that he committed suicide by burning himself on a pile after delivering a solemn speech to the people.

ABDALLAH, the King of Campar, was soon afterwards attacked by the King of Bentan, but with the assistance of the Portuguese easily beat off his enemy. But some years later the King of Djohor induced the Portuguese, by false imputations, to suspect the King of Campar his own son-in-law, so that they bribed assassins to kill him; but it is also said that he was publicly executed on a charge of conspiring to surrender Malakka to the enemies of the Portuguese. ⁽²⁾

“ execution of his long-concerted enterprise, on which Mahomet
 “ was to send a party to second his efforts or to bring him off, he
 “ and his accomplices got admitted into the fort as usual, and im-
 “ mediately began to assassinate the Portuguese garrison by means
 “ of their daggers, and had actually slain six before they were able
 “ to stand to their defence. BRITO, who happened to be asleep
 “ when the alarm was given, immediately collected his men, and
 “ drove the traitor and his companions from the fort at the very
 “ moment when a party of armed Malays came up to second their
 “ efforts. The commander of this party, named JUAN CALASCAR,
 “ on learning the miscarriage of JUAN MAXILIZ, pretended that he
 “ came to the assistance of BRITO, and by that means was permitted to retire.”

(1) FARIA Y SOUZA says “Bandara,” *i.e.* “Bëndahara.”

(2) This is the account given by FARIA Y SOUZA, who says that MAHOMED, the King of Johor, caused it to be noised abroad that ABDULLAH, his own son-in-law, had gone to Malacca with his knowledge and consent for the express purpose of getting an opportunity of seizing the fort by a sudden and unexpected attack, which false

GEORGE BRIT succeeded (1515) GEORGE ALBUQUERQUE as third Governor of Malakka, just before the arrival of the new Viceroy of India, LOPEZ TOAREZ ALVARENGA, successor of ALFONSUS ALBUIRIR.

Nothing of importance happened while BRIT was Governor. He died here (at Malakka) in 1517. This death gave rise to sharp disputes between two high Portuguese Officials as to the succession, and FERDINAND PETREJUS ANDRADO, who touched at Malakka on his voyage homewards from China, tried in vain to reconcile them. Meantime whilst NUGUEZ VASCO PEREIRA was temporarily administering the Government, ALFONSUS LOPEZ COSTA had been appointed fourth Governor of Malakka by King EMANUEL.

The King of Djohor, being disinclined to suffer the Portuguese to remain any longer in such quiet possession of Malakka, waged war against them once more, attacked them suddenly, and had some very sharp engagements with one ALEXIS DE MENEZES, ⁽¹⁾ the Portuguese commander, but without obtaining the slightest advantage. When de MENEZES had left, the King resumed his attack on the town, besieged the fortress for seventeen days, and made an assault on it, but was repulsed by the Portuguese. After this last defeat he remained quiet for a short time.

The new Viceroy, DIDACUS LOPEZ SEQUEIRA, appointed one CORREA Captain of the Portuguese Garrison at this place in 1519 to frustrate the repeated attacks of King AHMED SHAH, and one GARCIA DE SALA to be fifth Governor to relieve the invalid Governor ALFONSUS LOPEZ COSTA.

A little before this the King of Djohor had made another attack upon the town, but being again repulsed with great

report obtained credence from the Portuguese Commander and led to ABDULLAH's downfall. This, he says, led to the natives, who much appreciated ABDULLAH's administration, leaving Malacca in such numbers that it was almost left desolate.

(¹) According to FARIA Y SOUZA, this attack was made in the time of BRIT (or BRITO), and DE MENEZES arrived to assume the Government with a reinforcement of 300 men just in time to prevent Malakka falling into the hands of the enemy, and appointed COSRA Deputy Governor in place of BRITO, who was dying.

loss and disgrace, (¹) he abandoned his plans for a long time.

In 1521 GARCIA DE SALA was succeeded by another Governor. During his governorship GEORGE ALBUKIRK and ANTONIO BRIT came this way for the purpose of besieging Bintam, but it did not come to anything. (²) GARCIA DE SALA in that year (1521) resigned the governorship to GEORGE ALBUKIRK, who was thus the sixth Portuguese Governor. In 1522 the people of Bintam again came forth against Malakka with eighty vessels, but GEORGE ALBUKIRK having been already informed that the Laksamana of Djohor was coming with a numerous and powerful fleet, despatched a strong Portuguese fleet to meet him, and a fierce fight ensued. Sixty-five Portuguese were killed, and their vessels were compelled to retreat to Malakka : the Laksamana likewise quietly withdrew.

Meantime several Portuguese, who had landed at Pahang in ignorance that the King there was son-in-law to the King of Djohor were murdered ; many others were compelled by the King of Djohor to embrace the Mahomedan faith, while those who refused to do so were tied to the mouth of a cannon and blown to pieces.

About this time also a force from Bintam appeared before the town (Malakka) took SIMON DE BREO and thirteen Portuguese by surprise, slew them all, and burnt their vessels. GARCIA HENRIK who, on his return from the Moluccas, was cruising off the island of Bintam, was drawn into an ambuscade by the vessels of the Laksamana, lost both his vessels, and was obliged to retreat to Malakka after making a gallant defence, in which almost all his men were killed.

All these small advantages gained over the Portuguese made the King of Djohor so proud, that he again entertained the idea of attacking Malakka by sea and land and making a

(¹) FÁRIA Y SOUZA says the King of Bintang (Bentan) which is practically the same thing, and that the Portuguese succeeded in taking the Malay Fort at Moar with 300 cannon.

(²) FÁRIA Y SOUZA describes Bentan as "having two strong castles and its rivers staked to prevent the access of ships, so that it was considered almost impregnable, and though ALEXANDER DE ALBUQUERQUE went with 18 vessels and 600 men, he was obliged to retire."

fresh effort to expel the Portuguese. He then collected a force of 20,000 men, 16,000 of which he despatched by land under the command of a renegade Portuguese Captain called AMLAAR, while the Laksamana had to take the other 4,000 men to blockade the Malakka roadstead.

AMLAAR immediately marched on the town and very soon succeeded in making a trench sixty palisades wide near the village of Quillyn [*i.e.*, Kampong Kling, as it is termed], but he was unable to take advantage of it, for GEORGE ALBUKIRK had it repaired at once.

The siege lasted for about a month, after which it was raised and the besiegers beat a retreat, on hearing that relief had been sent from Goa. This happened about 1525. They had hardly left when MARTYN ALFONSO DE SOUZA arrived with a fleet to the rescue of the town, and he was told that during the siege people had paid fifty ducats for a fowl.

The Governor appointed the said DE SOUZA Admiral of the Portuguese fleet in place of his cousin GARCÍAS HENRIK, and the very first act of the new Admiral was to blockade the river of Bintam with five vessels and so prevent the entrance or egress of anything.

In 1526 PETER MASCARENHAS was appointed Governor of Malakka, being the seventh Portuguese Governor.

The King of Djohor soon after again besieged the town, but the brave MASCARENHAS would not brook such provocation; he began to take aggressive action, and declared war against the King of Bintam, who called his son-in-law of Pahang to his aid, but both the Laksamana of Bintam and the King of Pahang's Admiral were completely defeated and put to flight, and the Portuguese conquered the whole island (*i.e.*, Bentan).⁽¹⁾ The said King of Bintam (a creature of the King of Djohor, the lawful King having been expelled) died of grief soon after. The other King then re-appeared and submitted to the Portuguese who restored him to his throne.

(¹) FARIA Y SOUZA states that MASCARENHAS took Bentan with twenty-one ships and four hundred Portuguese soldiers and six hundred Malays under Tûan MAHOMED and one Sinai Raja, though it was well fortified and defended by seven thousand men.

After the taking of Bintam, the King of Djohor left the Portuguese unmolested for some time.

In 1527 GEORG KAPRAAL was appointed eighth Governor of Malakka, and nothing of importance occurred during his government, the King of Djohor being still at peace with the Portuguese.

In 1528 the Viceroy LOPEZ DE SAMPAJO appointed PETER DE FAR ninth Governor of Malakka, and his government was also a peaceful one, the King of Djohor not having yet recovered the shock his power had received.

In 1529 GARCIA DE SA arrived at Malakka as the tenth Portuguese Governor.

The inhabitants of Atsjien (in Sumatra) gave him much trouble, but we will treat the subject later, when we deal with the affairs of that island, mentioning only this that GARCIA having discovered that one SANAGE was conspiring with the enemy ordered him to be thrown out of the tower of the fortress.

I cannot say who succeeded GARCIA DE SA as Governor of Malakka, but I have been able to trace the names and dates of the following Governors, viz., STEPHANUS GAMA in 1537, RUY PAZ PAREIRA in 1545, SIMON MELO in 1547, PEDRO DE SYLVA in 1551, and his brother Don ALBARO ATAYDO in 1552.

I am equally ignorant of the names of the Governors from the last-mentioned date up to 1604, when that brave Portuguese Don ANDREA FURTADO DE MENDOZA (of whom we will speak more at length later) administered the supreme authority as Governor of this place.

We cannot say much about the events of that period, the Portuguese historians having recorded nothing about them.

AHMED SJAII, the exhausted King of Djohor (*i.e.*, after the failure of his repeated attacks on the Portuguese), continued to rule his country till 1540, and was succeeded after a reign of twenty-seven years by Sultan ALAWODDIN SJAII, ("ALA-ËDDÏN SHAH," Malaice "ALA-ÛDIN") who was the fourteenth King of the Malays, the second of Djohor, and the eighth Mahomedan King.

It was during the reign of this King (9th October, 1547)⁽¹⁾ that the Achinese laid siege to Malakka, causing damage to the value of more than a million, and only raising the siege on account of famine.

We have found nothing recorded of the life of this King and of his successor, beyond the fact that he reigned 19 years, *i.e.*, from 1540 to 1559, and that he was succeeded by Sultan ABDUL DJALIL SJAII as the fifteenth King of the Malays, the third of Djohor, and the ninth Mahomedan King.

This prince ruled this people 32 years, died in 1591, and was succeeded by Sultan ALAWODDIN SJAII III. He, the sixteenth King of the Malays, the fourth of Djohor, and the tenth Mahomedan King, reigned 19 years.

It seems to me that the first Dutch made their appearance either at this place (Malakka) or at Djohor in the twelfth or thirteenth year of this reign (*i.e.*, in 1603 or 1604).

It appears also that he (ALAWODDIN SJAII III) was styled Yangdiptuan, that he resided at Batoe Sabar, ⁽²⁾ six miles higher up the river (*i.e.*, above Johor Lama) and that he had a brother, called Radja BONGSOE, who lived on friendly terms with the Dutch.

⁽¹⁾ FARIA Y SOUZA makes it in October, 1571, and states that the Achinese raised the siege on TRISTRAN VAZ DE VEGA completely defeating a Malay fleet in the Moar river; it may be a separate occasion, but it looks like the same, and SOUZA makes no mention of the one referred to at the date given in the text, which seems to have been so serious that he would hardly have omitted to notice it.

He also mentions in the time of DE VEGA an attack on Malacca by a fleet sent by the Queen of Japára consisting of eighty large galleons and two hundred and twenty smaller vessels, but the besiegers were severely defeated after a siege of three months. This was almost immediately followed by an attack by the Achinese, who, however, abandoned the siege in a panic, thinking there were some special stratagems being devised against them, when as a matter of fact, the Portuguese were in sore straits, and might easily have been overcome.

⁽²⁾ "Sawar" said to mean a kind of fishing-weir. (See Malay Proverbs, No. 2 of Journ., S.B., R.A.S., p. 145.)

I find that one ROCHE DE MELLO was Portuguese Governor of Malakka in 1598.

I think that probably Admiral JACOB HEEMSKERK was the first of our people who had any trade with the King of Djohor : he captured a large Portuguese carrack on his return voyage from China, touched at Djohor, and left behind there in 1603 one JACOB BUYZEN, who would, he was sure, be treated as a friend, the King being a mortal foe of the Portuguese, and doing his utmost to harass them.

When in October, 1603, the vessels *Ziericzee* and *Hollandse Thuyu* (Dutch garden) under the command of Commodore JACOB PIETERZOOM VAN ENKHUYZEN (forming part of the fleet under WYBRAND VAN WARWYCK) arrived at the Singapore Straits, they met with a prahu or canoe of the King of Djohor bringing a letter from JACOB BUYZEN, which informed them that during the last month two Portuguese men-of-war, four galleys, and twenty smaller craft had arrived at that place, under the command of ESTEVAN TEXEIRA DE MADE, a man of great fame : that these vessels were waiting for some ships, which were expected to arrive there within a couple of months from Japan and Maccassar, and which they had to escort safely to Malakka out of danger from the Dutch vessels.

It appeared from a letter of the supercargo JACOB BUYZEN, dated the 7th October, that the Portuguese of Malakka were besieging Djohor, and the King wrote to our Commodore to beg him most earnestly, that our troops might assist him in relieving his city from this siege. BUYZEN added, besides, that Radja BONGSOE, the King's brother, intended to come very soon on board the Commodore's vessel and to remain there till their joint efforts should have vanquished the Portuguese ; it, was this very Radja BONGSOE who was with Admiral HEEMSKERK when he had captured the carrack already mentioned.

Our Commodore then gave battle to the Portuguese fleet during the whole day and put her to flight right through ours, whereupon Radja BONGSOE and JACOB BUYZEN after having witnessed this naval combat, arrived on board the Commodore's vessel, and Radja BONGSOE after having thanked him cordially for the eminent service he had done them, presented him with a fine kris, after which he and BUYZEN left him.

The only losses we suffered in that fight, were five or six men killed, and a few men wounded on both vessels. The King of Djohor, much pleased with this victory, and with our assistance, arrived that very night with his fleet of forty prahus and four or five fine galleys near our two vessels, when he was visited by our Commodore in his own galley, to whom that Prince likewise showed his gratitude by presenting him with a splendid kris.

When the Commodore made some inquiries about pepper, the King answered him, that he would be able to forward some to him within a short time, if his river were kept open and free.

Radja BONGSOE, accompanied by many Malay gentlemen, came again on board of the vessel *Ziericzee* on the 10th October; we fought the Portuguese that day, and put them again at flight, but the King, though he was present with his prahus, left all the work to be done by us, and only looked on.

He then visited the Commodore accompanied by his two brothers (one of whom was the King of Siak), and offered him his thanks; the Commodore then presented him with a Japanese sword with a silver hilt and sheath, and Radja BONGSOE with a fine musket, whereupon that Prince took leave of him.

On the 1st September, 1603, ANDREA FURTADO DE MENDOZA succeeding FERNANDO ALBUKIRK as Governor of Malakka, as Governor-General of the Southern Provinces of India, and as Commander-in-Chief of the royal fleet, sent in the beginning of 1604 an Ambassador to the said King of Djohor to acquaint him with this change, and to announce to him that he wished to live in peace with him, though he had been at war with the former Governor of Malakka.

The King sent the reply, that he too desired to make peace, but that he wanted to know first the terms of that peace.

DON ANDREA FURTADO then required that the King should part with the Dutch (having dealt already too much with them), deliver them up to him, and deprive them of their property, and he informed him that there should never be peace if the King of Djohor would not accept the said conditions. On the 8th February the King gave a flat refusal, and briefly said that he would rather see his whole country ruined than

betray or deliver up the Dutch, who stood under his protection.

The 3rd May, 1604, Admiral WARWYCK having returned to the Djohor river, the King presented him with two and a half bharas of pepper, whilst he presented the King with a quantity of powder and some balls. He sailed again on the 20th of the same month.

In February 1605, FURTADO resolved to besiege Batoe Sabar, but when he heard that our Admiral WYBRAND VAN WARWYCK was in its very neighbourhood, he gave up his plan.

On the 14th of the same month, our Admiral was informed, that in the meantime the Portuguese fleet had been reinforced considerably, numbering now 7 men-of-war, 30 bantings, 20 galleys, and 10 Javanese sampans, and further that ANDREA FURTADO had threatened the King with an early visit, and if he again failed to conquer Batoe Sabar he would willingly pay the King tribute.

In the meantime some vessels of our fleet, under the command of Admiral C. SEBASTIAANSE, had captured off Patani a fine and richly laden Portuguese carrack, called *St. Anthony*, and the *Wissingen* (joining the said Admiral's squadron off Patani in February that year) had also captured on the 14th January, 1605, off Pedra Blanca another carrack coming from Cochin-China and consigned to DON ANDREA FURTADO.

We found in the first carrack the following goods, viz:—

- 2,000 piculs of white powder-sugar and some baskets of sugar-candy ;
- 4,500 piculs of Tintanaga or Spelter (zinc) ;
- 223 fardels of Chinese camphor ;
- 90 fardels Agelwood ; (1)
- 18 leaden boxes of musk-balls ;
- 11 boxes of vermilion ;
- 22 boxes of Chinese fans ;
- 209 fardels of raw silk, and 75 fardels bad yellow silk ;
- 6,000 pieces of variegated porcelain ;
- 10 casks of coarse and fine porcelain ;

(1) " Kâyu gaharu."

some gilt couches and knick-knacks, one lot radix China, ⁽¹⁾ one lot benzoin, 150 baskets with prepared silk, velvet, damask, taffeta and fine silk, besides some boxes with gold-wire.

In the second carrack we found:—

174½ piculs of Agelwood ;

33½ piculs of Benzoin ; ⁽²⁾

2 small casks with Chinese camphor, and some common sarongs.

The *Wissingen* had captured another small Portuguese ship off Solor, laden with ninety-two bharas Sandal-wood and 2½ pikuls of tortoise-shell.

The *Wissingen* sailed on the 15th September with the captured carrack *St. Anthony* from Patani to Djohor to try and get a cargo at that place. WYBRAND VAN WARWYCK followed on the 27th October, and dropped anchor on the 12th November in the mouth of the Djohor river near the said carrack at about 1½ miles from the *Wissingen*. The vessels *Amsterdam* and *Dordrecht* were under his command. Admiral CORNELIS SEBASTIAANSE's squadron was also lying in the roads here.

The King called in the aid of both these Admirals, which SEBASTIAANSE pledged himself to give, whilst VAN WARWYCK begged to excuse him for this time.

The letters, addressed by H. H. Prince MAURICE to the King, were then presented to him, which he received with much respect. Admiral CORNELIS SEBASTIAANSE presented him at the time with two brass guns, and VAN WARWYCK gave him four small barrels of gunpowder, 40 shot-cartridges for the said cannon, 12 Japanese swords, four Portuguese muskets with shoulder-belts, some pieces of prepared silk and a shot-proof armour.

The two Admirals presented the King at his request with two small wide-mouthed guns cannon-royal, and some shot-

(1) "Jin seng," or "Jinsam," as it is also called, supposed to very invigorating. It is stated that it is only found near the mountains, a man shoots an arrow, and if it falls where the "jin seng" is to be found, a flame appears, which guides him to the spot.

(2) "Kēmēnyau," burnt by Malays and aborigines in most of their charms and spells.

cartridges for the same, from the vessel *Dordrecht* and with an iron pederero (small field piece) and ten small barrels of gunpowder and some shot-cartridges from one of WARWYCK's vessels, in order that he should be better able to repel the assaults of the Portuguese.

Admiral VAN WARWYCK left Djohor on the 10th December with his vessel the *Wissingen*, after having strongly recommended the King to take good care of his people, who were left behind with a valuable cargo, and the Admiral SEBASTIANSE soon followed him with his vessel the *Amsterdam* and the carrack *St. Anthony*.

At the beginning of January, 1606, our Admiral CORNELIS MATELIEF DE JONGE having met with Admiral STEVEN VAN DER HAGEN off the island of Mauritius, and having heard from him in what state Malakka was, set sail with his fleet to that town, but Don ANDREA FURTADO had fortified it considerably during the last three years, and besieged Djohor with an army of 8,000 men. The said Admiral sailed for Malakka on the 27th January and dropped anchor on the 30th April at half a mile distance from the town. ⁽¹⁾

He at once manned all his boats and sloops and ordered them to set fire to four ships, just aground opposite the town. These were ships of 200, 100, and 80 lasts each. Though the garrison fired five shots, they all missed the boats.

The same night MATELIEF informed the King of his arrival.

The day before, our sloops having captured three prahus of the King of Quedah, loaded with sarongs, the Admiral sent them back to that King and assured him, that he wished to live in peace with him.

The Admiral then assembled a Council of war, and the Council of all the shipmasters and merchants, and they resolved to approach as near Malakka as five fathoms of water ⁽¹⁾ would bring them, and to bombard the town from the fleet.

The vessels neared the coast with neap tide to a depth of $3\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms of water, ⁽¹⁾ but even at that distance their small cannons-royal were of no use; though a few balls did hit some of the houses, they could not reach the fortress.

⁽¹⁾ There is something wrong about the distances and cannon range here, perhaps "league" should be read for "mile?"

The artillery of the town answered our fire ; but the *Witte Leeuw* (*White Lion*), was the only vessel once hit, whilst the most effective shot from our side, was the one, that hit the St. Paulus Church, so-named by the Dutch ; ALBUQUERQUE dedicated it to "Our Lady of the Annunciation," belonging to the order of the Jesuits.

MATELIEF in the meantime ordered four boats to survey the North side of the town, and to take soundings, for if possible he intended to land there and to take its suburb ; but he had to abandon his plan, the soil being too muddy, the Portuguese having raised strong stockades there to defend their houses.

He had erected in the meantime a battery of 24 pounders at Ilha das Naos, ⁽¹⁾ one of the islets near the town, and had equipped it also with two small cannons-royal, and intended to bombard the town from that place, it being much nearer than the nearest place where the vessels could anchor.

Our Admiral having been informed in the meantime that it was almost impossible to make a descent on the south side of the town, intended to land on its north side, hence he garrisoned the said islet with some 30 men.

We then opened our fire from the battery of the 24 pounders in the afternoon of the 2nd May, and soon silenced the two batteries on the south side of the town.

Now and then the artillery of the town fired at our vessels, but without any effect ; they did not fire at the battery however. But when MATELIEF saw that all this firing to and fro was of no use, he deliberated with his Captains, whether it would be better to leave the town alone and go first to meet and give battle to the Portuguese fleet, or whether it would be more advisable to take the town first ; after a mature deliberation he resolved to ask the opinion of the King of Djohor, chiefly because he wanted to make sure if the latter would help him and what his assistance would consist of.

They did not expect much from the aid of the King of Djohor, but they forwarded a message to him, and it was decided that they should wait for his answer, before acting in any way ; the more that there was nothing known about the arrival of the Portuguese fleet.

(1) Pûlau Jâwa, lying opposite St. Paul's Hill.

Meanwhile the Portuguese had burnt down the southern suburb.

MATELIEF ordered ten men of the crew of each vessel to *Pulau Sapta*, ⁽¹⁾ a pretty big island about two miles from Malakka, to make ten gabions for each vessel, to be used when they should attack the town.

MATELIEF was informed on the 4th May, that our fire had wounded some of the inhabitants of the town, and that the Portuguese fleet with the Viceroy and Archbishop on board was soon expected from Goa, first to come to the rescue of Malakka, and then to reconquer the Moluccas and to fight the King of Djohor; that the place had but very little victuals, but that there were many guns with a large supply of ammunition, that there were more than 3,000 slaves and Malays within the town, but not more than 80 Europeans.

On the 5th of May, two prahus of the King of Djohor, with the SJAHBANDAR of Singapura, Sri Râja NEGARA, ⁽²⁾ reached our fleet; they came to see if there were Dutch vessels in this neighbourhood, and they assured our Admiral, that it was certain that the King would come this way as soon as he knew of the Admiral's presence, so they would go back that very night.

On the 13th, the Admiral received a letter from the King of Djohor informing him that he should join him within four days, and that he should bring as many troops as he could assemble.

After the receipt on the 14th of a letter of the same tenor, there appeared on the 17th some vessels with three hundred men under the command of the King's brother Radja SABRANG, he (the King) being absent.

The then reigning King of Djohor, called Jangdipertoehan, was the eldest of three brothers. He was a lazy and indolent prince, sleeping almost the whole day, getting drunk, and amusing himself with his women, whilst he left the business

⁽¹⁾ Probably *Pûlau Upeh* (which is somewhere about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the town, but then, as may be seen by the rocks on its shore side, extending further towards the town), as they were going to attack on the North side.

⁽²⁾ Royal drum; or possibly connected with Sansk: *nagara* or *nagari*, country.

of government to his brother, Radja SABRANG, or Radja BONGSOE, and to the high court dignitaries.

His other brother, the King of Siak, who had married a daughter of the King, or a sister of the Queen of Patani, was also a bad sovereign; he came very seldom to Djohor, but remained at Siak, which was a fief of Djohor.

The third brother, who, like the King of Siak, was also of another mother, was called Radja LAUR; but the said three princes were not to be relied upon, owing to their fondness for drinking. Radja SABRANG was the only exception.

He then came to welcome the Admiral, and presented him a golden kris inlaid with some common diamonds.

They had a long talk together, and MATELIEF told him that it was his intention to take Malakka and to keep it for him, but Radja BONGSOE did not like that, and asked him, why he should assist him to besiege the town, if after all the Dutch would keep the place, for in that case it was only a change of neighbours, and that *we* did not assist *him*, but that *he* then assisted *us*.

MATELIEF then asked him, what would be his reward if he took the town, whereupon Radja SABRANG promised him to give him a suitable place for building store-houses to put their goods and provisions in, which they were allowed to import duty free. But MATELIEF answered that his offer amounted to nothing, that many native princes had made him the same offer, though he had never rendered them any services; he also pointed out that the present town of Malakka did not belong to the King of Djohor, but that it was a town built by the Portuguese, and that only the surrounding country had at one time been the property of the King.

Finally, he gave in about the town and agreed to leave Malakka in our possession, if MATELIEF would promise to make war upon Atsjien, which MATELIEF however refused to do, being at peace with that State; but he promised that, either he would assist the King of Djohor if Atsjien declared war against him, or he would do his best to appease the King of Atsjien.

Finally, the following agreement was entered into on the 17th May, 1606, and signed by the different parties:—

1. Admiral *MATELIEF* promises to take Malakka from the Portuguese with the aid and assistance of Djohor, after which the town will remain in the power of the States-General (Holland), but the surrounding country will be under the King of Djohor, provided we shall be allowed to take of it as much as we may require to fortify the town ;

2. The States-General are allowed to cut timber in the territory of the King, to build ships, and to provide for all the other necessities of the town ;

3. All the vassals of the States-General are allowed to discharge their ships and to land their goods in the town without paying any duty ;

4. No other Dutch or European merchants may trade in the countries of the King, without first having obtained leave from our Governor at Malakka to do so, and they will be considered enemies if they trade without the said permission ;

5. His Majesty can re-people and govern the burnt down suburb, known under the name of Campo Clin, ⁽¹⁾ without any interference of the States-General. His Majesty shall if possible take up his residence at that place and fortify it, whilst the States-General shall assist him to do so ;

6. All the guns and cannon which are found in the town after its conquest shall belong to the King, one part of which he is allowed to remove at once, whilst he must leave the other part for the defence of the town, until the States-General shall have provided it with other artillery ;

7. All the merchandize, money and any other goods that shall be found in the town are to be divided in two portions, one to go to the States-General, the other to the King ;

8. Any goods not belonging to vassals of the States-General must be landed in the said suburb [Campo Clin] ; but the subjects of the States-General are allowed to purchase them there freely and to carry them from there to the town ;

9. Both parties promise to assist each other faithfully against the Portuguese and Spaniards, but not in the case of a war with another nationality, unless it be to stand upon the defensive only ;

(1) *i.e.*, Kampong Kling.

10. Neither of the two parties shall make peace with the King of Spain, without the consent of the other ;

11. If any subject of either party gives offence in matters of religion, the offender shall be brought up and punished by his own authorities ;

12. If any subject of one of the two parties has a claim in the way of debt upon a subject of the other party, the defendant shall be called before his own authorities ;

13. Both parties bind themselves to surrender deserters or runaway criminals.

The said treaty was sworn to and signed by both parties, by each of them according to the customs of his country.

The Admiral then delivered to Radja SABRANG a letter addressed to the King and coming from His Highness Prince MAURICE, which letter was accompanied by the presents also sent to the King by the said Prince, which presents consisted of a long fusil, a double-barrelled pistol inlaid with mother-of-pearl, two other pistols, a sword of honour, and a halberd, besides those sent by the Directors of the East India Company, consisting of one fine harness, two halberds and six cuirasses.

Mr. MATELIEF thereupon landed on the 18th May, with 700 men, and falling in with a troop of 400 Portuguese and black soldiers armed with muskets and pikes, he immediately attacked them, and drove them back to the suburb.

Finding a strong thick wall there ⁽¹⁾ they at once threw up an entrenchment, from behind which they opened such a hot fire upon the enemy, that he had to abandon his position, which was set fire to by its own inhabitants.

After having made a rapid personal examination of the town, Mr. MATELIEF found near it a pretty large river, ⁽²⁾ which to cross would be rather a hard task, seeing as he did so many strong turrets and such solid heavy walls round the town that it would have been very easy for the Portuguese to prevent him from taking the town ; besides that he had not forces

⁽¹⁾ Pintu Tranquerah ?

⁽²⁾ The Malacca river, separating the fortress and main town from the suburbs.

enough for the purpose, many of his soldiers being laid up already with sickness, and as for the assistance of the Malays, he did not feel inclined to rely too much upon it.

In the meantime he ordered his troops with the assistance of the Malays to construct a battery in the said suburb, and armed it with two 17 pounders, with which he intended to silence the fire of the enemy on that side of the town.

By this time Mr. MATELIEF had noticed, that whenever he had asked Radja SABRANG for the help of his men he indeed promised to send him people, but they never appeared; and concluding that there was something amiss between the King of Djohor and his brother, he became aware, that he was knocking at a deaf man's door, the more so that they had conceived a sentiment of jealousy against each other. Finally, becoming convinced that he could never take the town with the small number of troops under his command, he thought it advisable to raise the siege and re-embark his troops, especially when the Bandahara had told him plainly that the Malays intended to leave the whole business to us, under pretence that Ternate and Ambon had also been taken by us without the assistance of the natives.

I wish to take this opportunity of correcting an erroneous statement I made in foot-note (5) p. 50 of No. 13 of this Journal for June, 1884. The arms on the old gateway there mentioned are not Portuguese, though I was so informed by a Portuguese Consul, but Dutch after all, the Batavian lion is clear.

D. F. A. H.